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THE FREEDOM RIDES GO ON

'Get hot,' Negroes reply to Kennedys' plea to cool off

By Joanne Grant

IN THE AFTERMATH of last month's racial violence in Alabama, the Freedom Riders' drive for desegregation of travel facilities in the Deep South has become a methodical routine. As each inter-racial group of travelers arrives at Jackson, Miss., terminals, they are arrested with relatively little fuss or fanfare.

The Freedom Rides continue despite Atty. Gen. Kennedy's request for a "cooling-off period and the issuance of an injunction against the Riders by Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. But since the experiences of the first Riders, who were beaten up several times by Alabama mobs and ended their trip with a plane ride to New Orleans, all other rides have terminated in the Jackson jail. Jackson's sheriff J. R. Gilfoy commented laconically:

"I don't know why they are called Freedom Riders, when the first thing they do when they get here is to lose their freedom."

FEDERAL ACTION: Since the Attorney General's "cooling-off" request and the withdrawal of most of the Federal marshals from Montgomery on May 25 the Federal government has taken the following action:

- Atty. Gen. Kennedy asked the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue a statement of the law regarding desegregation of travel facilities. He suggested that the law be printed on placards and placed in all buses and stations. Suggested wording was: "All seats aboard this vehicle are by law available at all times to any passenger without regard to race, color, creed or national origin."
- On June 1 the Justice Dept. released a letter from Secy. of State Dean Rusk stating his full support for strict rules against segregation because racial segregation "creates embarassment and difficulty in foreign relations."
- On June 2 the Justice Dept. announced that it disapproved of Judge Johnson's injunction against the Freedom Riders which had forbidden them to test facilities in Alabama. The Department had opposed the Montgomery police request that the judge issue an injunction on the grounds that it was unconstitutional. It also sent a second letter to the ICC requesting "immediate" action. The last contingent of Federal marshals was ordered out of Alabama.

KING'S PLEA: There were indications that integration leaders were far from satisfied with these Federal moves. Four civil rights organizations set up a Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee and announced that the rides would continue. Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. called on the President to issue a "second Emancipation Proclamation" ending all segregation and urged the President or Vice President to visit the South to "show that the full weight of the Federal Government is morally behind the integration movement."

On the cooling-off period Dr. King said: "There should be a cooling-off period all right. But it should be a cooling-

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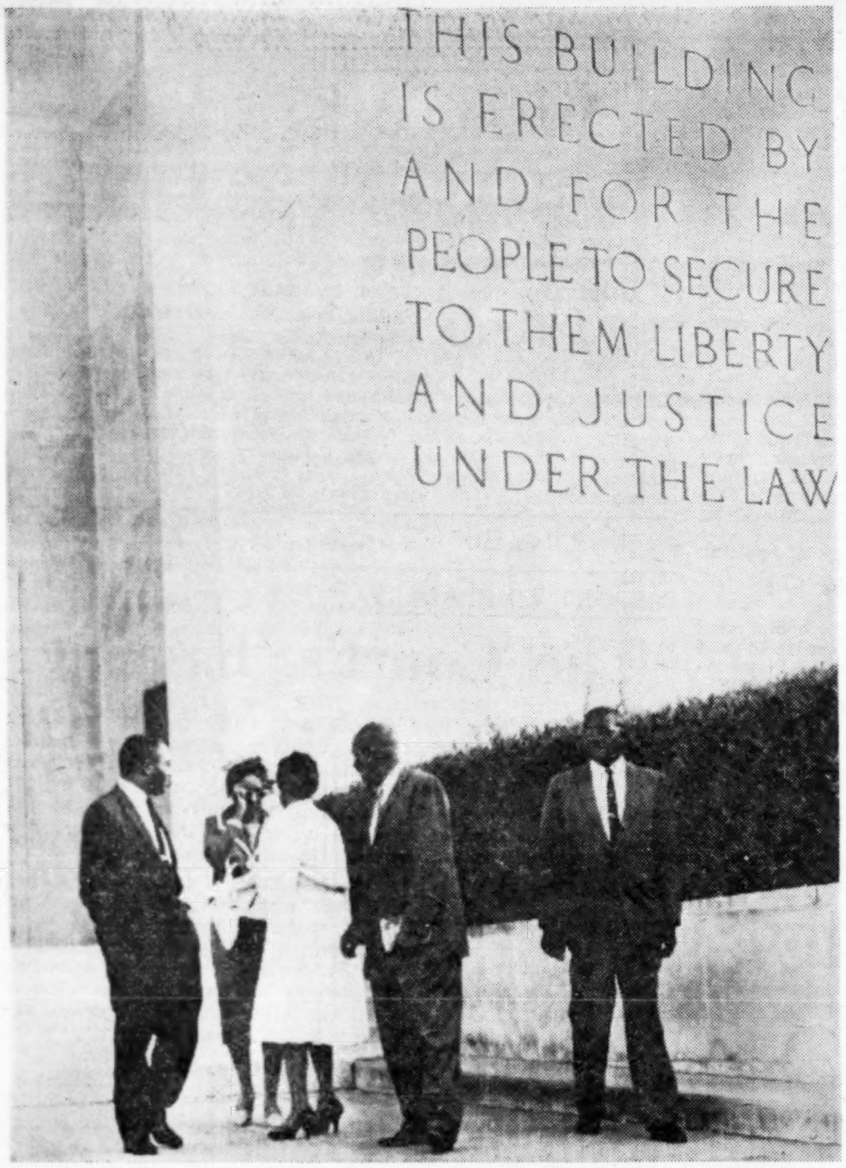

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI: WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS PICTURE?
Negroes who watched the trial of a group of Freedom Riders (see right) stand outside the Municipal Court with its engraved motto.

THE COLD WAR IN 3/4 TIME

Congress does a silent waltz in the aftermath of Vienna

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

THE 537 MEMBERS of Congress have maintained an extraordinary silence on the Vienna Conference of President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev. There has been no follow-up debate and only the most routine comments have been made by Republican and Democratic leaders. Rarely have so many politicians said so little about so much.

The reasons are varied. In the first place, Congress is lined up almost 100%—at least publicly—to rubberstamp almost any cold war proposal. By this Republicans and Democrats rule out any basic partisan controversy. There is no peace bloc in Congress, and the individual Representatives and Senators who have doubts about the cold war have been bullied and maneuvered into silence and a reluctant "going along." There is in Congress a mood of uncertainty, puzzlement and resignation—and some fears—about the U.S. course in foreign affairs.

Following Kennedy's report to the nation on his trip, Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) briefly praised the President for his "sober and serious undertaking . . . free of bombast and propaganda. . . . " He was joined

(Continued on Page 4)

Justice Black and the Supreme Court's 'balancing' act

FOR THE LAST ELEVEN YEARS the Communist Party of the U.S. has waged an unceasing legal fight to blunt the impact on American freedoms of the McCarran Act of 1950.

The fight has been fought brilliantly and in the finest tradition of American constitutional law by a team of attorneys which included Vito Marcantonio until his death in 1954, John J. Abt of New York, and Joseph Forer of Washington, D.C.

How able this defense of the Constitution has been may be measured by the fact that it required a 120-page opinion by Justice Felix Frankfurter, on behalf of a Supreme Court majority which included Justices Clark, Harlan, Stewart and Whittaker, to sidestep rather than confront the Constitutional issues argued in order to affirm at long last the single section of the Act requiring the Communist Party to register with the Attorney General as a Communist "action" organization and to register its officers and members.

Of the minority of four justices opposing affirmation, Brennan, Douglas and Chief Justice Warren based their opposition on the contention that the registration requirement violated the Fifth Amendment rights of the party's officers and members to refrain from testifying against themselves.

ONLY JUSTICE HUGO BLACK entered an all-encompassing denunciation of the Act and, in language none could mistake, taxed the Court majority with setting into motion a law which may "embark us on a policy of repression."

"In the very face of the provisions of the First Amendment," Justice Black wrote, "the Court today upholds laws which ignore the wisdom of the Founders' decision to set up a limited Government and adopts the policy of force to crush views about public matters entertained by a small minority in this country.

"This, to me, marks a major break in the wall designed by the First Amendment to keep this country free by leaving the people free to talk about any kind of change in basic governmental policies they desire to talk about.

"I see no possible way to escape the fateful consequences of a return to the era [1798-1801] in which all government critics had to face the probability of being sent to jail except for this Court to abandon what I consider to be the dangerous Constitutional doctrine of 'balancing' to which the Court is at present adhering."

Then Justice Black proceeded, seemingly for the particular benefit of Frankfurter, arch-proponent of the 'balancing' doctrine, to show that William Pitt the Younger used the same 'balancing' doctrine in urging the passage of the since-nullified Sedition Act of 1799 in Britain.

"And there certainly was no shortage of 'balancers' in our own Congress," Black added, "when the Alien

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THE MAIL BAG

Land of the Free

NEW YORK, N.Y.

How free is the courageous integration team organized by CORE to travel unmolested in our great land?

How brave were the "husky" Americans, one of whom kicked the face of an unresisting bus passenger at the feet of a CBS correspondent until his face was an unrecognizable mass of blood and flesh? How brave was a Himmler-like chief of police in Birmingham whose police were observing Mother's Day during this orgy of brutality?

Marion D. Munsell
Alexander Ector Orr Munsell

Top scofflaw

RALEIGH, N.C.

President Kennedy's forthright acceptance of the responsibility for the invasion of a friendly state, for which he has been commended by Rayburn and most of the press, makes him a scofflaw, along with the leading manufacturers of electrical equipment, and others in equally high places.

Of course it's nice that he didn't try to lie out of it, like Van Doren, but when Pres. Eisenhower admitted that he knew about the U-2 flight, it poisoned his relations with the Soviets from then on out.

It will take a good many billion dollars to buy back Latin America, and even then it may not work. **Horace B. Davis**

M.P. writes in

WESTMINSTER, ENG.

I write to give you my new address so that I can continue to receive future copies of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. I should here like to thank you for sending me copies of your dynamic paper, and I am looking forward to again doing a lecture in your wonderful country.

In England, we are still fighting for a win at our Labour Conference this year.

Harold Davies, M.P.

Petition for clemency

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Shortly after our big rally in St. Nicholas Arena in New York at which over 5,000 fellow-citizens urged the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, our friends Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson surrendered at Atlanta for a prison term of 12 months and are now in a Federal prison in South Carolina.

One of the first things they did after their surrender was to sign a petition for clemency to the President. They have urged their friends throughout the country to support their petition. We, therefore, ask you to comply with Frank's and Carl's wishes in the following way:

1. Write to President John F. Kennedy (The White House, Washington, D.C., and urge him to grant the petition. Tell the President what you know about these two men who have given all of us an example of integrity, honesty and courage.

2. Write to us for and circulate petitions. Return them to our office as soon as you have collected the necessary signatures.

Besides working on the petition campaign, we shall make every effort during the coming months to strengthen our organization, to build committees in the various congressional districts of the New York Metropolitan area, and to prepare our work for the fall.

We need volunteer workers; if you can spare some time, advise us. We need money to carry on the work through mailings, advertising, etc. If you can spare some funds, send us a contribution.

Otto Nathan
Russ Nixon
N.Y. Council to Abolish HUAC, 150 W. 34th St., New York, N.Y.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

An examination of some of the children's literature produced by the Communists induces bewilderment in most loyal Americans, for they can discover nothing wrong with these books. The stories are well told, beautifully illustrated, and do not teach Communism in any way. The trouble with these books is that there is nothing wrong with them.

—Article by Dr. Fred Schwarz in the St. Louis **Globe-Democrat, April 23.**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. H., St. Louis, Mo.

O'Leary, si!

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Praise for publishing L. S. O'Leary's poem for Simon Kennedy in the March 27 issue. The paper is infinitely enhanced by the wings of poetry and the quality of the published material is an index of the distance between your paper and the yellow press with their syndicated Edgar Guests!

Alvaro Cardona-Hine

The Goldwater country

TUCSON, ARIZ.

The last session of the Arizona Legislature enacted a repressive piece of legislation called the Arizona Communist Control Act of 1961. It is the product of anti-communist hysteria here in Barry Goldwater's stronghold.

Among the provisions of the act is a loyalty oath required of all public employees. The oath itself appears to be an affirmative one, but the law prescribes that the oath shall contain all the provisions of the law, including a penalty section that perverts the oath into a disclaimer oath exposing any signer to perjury charges. This oath (section 38-231 of the Act) is being challenged through court action by Barbara Elfbrandt, a teacher in Tucson.

Strong opposition to our legal action is to be expected from the same powerful forces that induced the Legislature to enact this law. For our case to succeed, a great deal of careful, competent legal work will be needed—far more than can be properly asked or accepted without compensation. Our counsel wants the help of expert counsel from other parts of the country experienced in this type of litigation.

A committee has been formed to raise funds. Will you help?

Please send contributions to Richard Gorby, treasurer, Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employees, 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tubson, Arizona.

Clyde R. Appleton

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

IN OUR ISSUE dated Oct. 25, 1948, NATIONAL GUARDIAN began the campaign which has now saved the lives of the Trenton Six and won freedom for four of them. . . .

The story of the Trenton Six is not only a damning indictment of notorious "Jersey Justice"; it is even more damning an indictment of the commercial press of America, which suppressed the story for a full year after the arrest of the Six until the GUARDIAN finally forced the facts of the case out into the open. . . .

When the convictions were reversed in June, 1949, the New York **Times** told all its readers for the first time the details of the case, but disparaged the efforts which brought about the reversal as "Communist-led." Even when the Six were finally saved from death last week, and four of them freed, the **Times** editorial continued to disparage the three-year campaign to free the Six as an example of communist efforts to "exacerbate race relations."

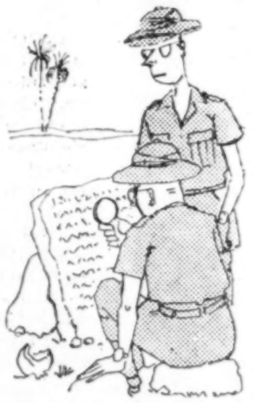
—From the National Guardian, June 20, 1951

Last of the just

FLUSHING, N.Y.

Permit me to compliment Anne Bauer for her lucid and penetrating review of Schwarz-Bart's LAST OF THE JUST. Hers alone, of all the reviews I have read, displayed a genuine understanding of the meaning and purpose of this beautiful, yet perplexing novel.

Billie Portnow



Lancaster in the London Daily Express

"As far as I can make out it's a curse on all those who worship a deity called Brand X."

Equal justice?

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Strawberry pickers near New Orleans, income $400 a year, for alleged anti-trust law violations got 60 days, as I recall. They were the first such defendants to be sent to jail. GE and other executives, with malice and aforethought and evil premeditation, for stealing multi-millions, even from the government itself, got 30 days.

The Pope brothers in New York, for grabbing over $400,000, got no jail time and nominal fines which caused them not the slightest sacrifice nor deprivation. This was also true of GE et al—fines, which were paid by the companies. **Veni Vidi**

A warning

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We in the U.S., the peace workers, the adherents of the international working class movements, and the many sober, responsible opponents of imperialist intervention, made quite a showing against the invasion of Cuba. We have to spread out, though. The purpose of U.S. imperialism will not change of itself. The facts are there, warning us and the Cuban people that every effort will be made, including "go it alone" war, to save "this system."

On guard! **Name withheld**

Honorable crime

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hurrah for Norval D. Welch and all his friends. A "political" crime is an honorable one in this day and age. I am so glad people continue to speak out and stand up to be counted when confronted by such things as Operation Alert. They speak for me too, and help bolster my courage to do what I can.

Lois Thorne

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REPORT TO READERS

The Court's 'balance'

(Continued from Page 1)

and Sedition Acts of 1798 were passed." (Justice Black's persistent challenge to his colleagues in the Court majority in recent months may have had its effect in winning Justice Potter Stewart away from the Frankfurter group for a 5-4 decision June 12 freeing Dr. Bernard Deutch, University of Pennsylvaia physicist, of contempt of Congress charges for refusing under the First Amendment to answer questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee.)

ON BLACK'S SIDE IN THE PRESS was the New York **Times**, which called the McCarran Act "a noxious piece of legislation" and cited as its view on the First Amendment the statement of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, joined by Justice Louis Brandeis, in a dissent in a First World War repression case that "we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death, unless they so imminently threaten immediate interference with the lawful and pressing purposes of the law that an immediate check is required to save the country."

The **Times'** view, while it did not travel all the way with Justice Black, was a refreshing departure from most press comment, which approved the Court action.

Both the **Times** and the Washington **Post** expressed concern also over the accompanying decision of the Court June 5 affirming the conviction of Junius Scales, onetime head of the CP in North and South Carolina, under the membership provision of the Smith Act. The Court at the same time reversed the conviction of John Noto, a CP leader in Western New York. The **Times** pointed out, as Justice Douglas did on June 5 and also in 1951 in the Dennis Case decision, under which the top U.S. Communist leadership was jailed, that only speech is involved in Smith Act prosecutions, not actual efforts to overthrow the government.

The Washington **Post** pointed out the dilemma that lies ahead in McCarran Act enforcement because of the Scales decision, which affirmed for the first time that section of the 1940 Smith Act making CP membership a crime. This tends to make compliance with the McCarran Act registration provisions "confession of a crime under the Smith Act, in violation of the Fifth Amendment," the **Post** said.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, national chairman; Benjamin J. Davis, national secretary, and Gus Hall, general secretary—announced that it would refuse to register under the McCarran Act decision, "even if our officers live the rest of their lives in prison." The spokesman was Hall, who said:

"We won't hide behind the fact that we have no membership list of our party members—neither do the Democrats or Republicans—but we will not betray a single individual by registering."

The Subversive Activities Control Board, set up under the Act to determine its application to so-called Communist "action," "front" and "infiltrated" organizations, has held hearings on 14 organizations in addition to the CP. Two have received orders to register and the others are in the courts or pending. No action is likely against any of these until the main CP case is fought out. Such a fight was anticipated in the majority decision, which refused to pass on the Fifth Amendment contentions of the CP's legal battery and the dissenting justices until the Party or its officers themselves raise the issue. The technical deadline for compliance is Aug. 9, but the prospect is for a long, renewed fight to nullify the Act.

THAT THE ACT HAS BEEN AFFIRMED only minimally, and the progressive life of the nation guarded from its immediate impact, has been mainly due to the strong and principled opposition to it by the CPUSA since 1950.

We believe that the good conscience of the nation should now join this active fight, beginning with letters of opposition to Robert Kennedy's plan for prompt action under the act. We join with Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, in the view that "the forces of democracy and civil liberties in this country have no choice but to work unceasingly for a reversal. To do so involves no love of communism, but rather a love of liberty and the free expression of opinion."

In an early issue, to aid in this struggle, we will publish—no U.S. newspaper has done so—the main text of Justice Black's resounding dissent, a stern and needed lesson in American history and man's centuries-old struggle for liberty. **—THE GUARDIAN**

INDOCTRINATION CAMPAIGN BY LECTURES, LEAFLETS AND FILM

Rightist propaganda peddled by Army brass

By Lawrence Emery

MILITARY officers, active as well as retired, are becoming increasingly involved in the affairs of extreme right-wing political groups in this country. In some cases military installations are put at the disposal of such organizations and are used to disseminate their propaganda. The failure of civilian bosses of the defense establishment in Washington to keep the brass out of partisan politics suggests tacit approval of their activities.

Most publicized case of its kind is that of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, commanding the 24th Infantry Division stationed in Augsburg, Germany. In mid-April the **Overseas Weekly**, a privately owned paper published in Frankfurt for American servicemen in Europe, charged that Gen. Walker used his command for the dissemination of material published by the John Birch Society, that he had described Harry S. Truman, Dean Acheson and Eleanor Roosevelt as "definitely pink" and had called Edward R. Murrow, Walter Lippmann and Eric Sevareid "confirmed communists."

Gen. Walker entered a general denial of the charges and an Army spokesman in Washington said there was "no knowledge of any such activity." The **Overseas Weekly** said it could document its charges; the general called the paper "immoral, unscrupulous, corrupt and destructive" and the paper sued him. In the end it took an order from President Kennedy himself to relieve Walker from his command pending an investigation.

'Admonishment' for Walker

GEN. WALKER was given an "admonishment," the Army announced June 12, for "controversial activities which were contrary to long-standing customs of the military service and beyond the prerogatives of a senior military commander."

An "admonishment" is less than a reprimand and in no way approaches punishment for an offense. In the form administered to Gen. Walker, it will not show on his record. But the Army did announce that his assignment to the command of the Eighth Corps, with headquarters in Austin, Tex., has been canceled. He will remain in Europe until further assignment.

SHARP PROTESTS: It is not certain that even this action would have been taken without Congressional protests. Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) called Walker "a pitifully misguided general." Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wisc.) said: "Generals are entitled to whatever lunatic private views they wish to espouse. They are not entitled to use the machinery of the U.S. Army to try to corrupt our troops." Rep. Frank Kowalski (D-Conn.), a retired Army colonel, wrote to Secy. of the Army Elvis J. Stahr Jr.: "I believe that the American people want prompt and early reassurance that the Dept. of the Army, particularly as represented ... by top officers in key commands in delicate areas, is not engaging in partisan politics."

No official reassurance has come from the Defense Dept.

On April 20 Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, told a press conference that units of the Navy and other branches of the armed forces are indoctrinating their men with extreme right-wing propaganda materials. He was particularly critical of the use by Navy units of the movie **Communism On the Map**, made and distributed by the National Educational Program of Searcy, Ark.

$200,000 BUDGET: The NEP is headed by Dr. George Stuart Benson, who is also president of Harding College, operated by the Church of Christ, a fundamentalist sect. Benson served for 11 years as a missionary in China. Under his direction the NEP now operates on a budget of $200,000 a year, of which about $5,000 a month is spent on postage for mailing leaflets, newsletters, newspaper columns, school study outlines and other materials. It also conducts "freedom forums" and sponsors lectures. One of its two full-time presidents is Brig. Gen. William P. Campbell, retired, a former assistant chief of finance for the Dept. of the Army.

The NEP got into the movie-making business with a $300,000 gift in 1949 from Alfred P. Sloan, the late president of General Motors. It now has about 30 films which sell for from $42.50 to $125 each or are rented for $5 a showing.

Thomas said that two Air Force officers and a Navy officer participated in a recent NEP conference in Searcy on the "dangers of our nation's being converted internally into centralized state capitalism." He also said that Vice Admiral Robert Goldthwaite wrote Benson on Navy stationery thanking him "for the wonderful reception and inspiring presentation that you gave me and my group at Searcy . . . We will continue to do all that we can to carry this message to the personnel of the Naval Air Training Command, and to the civilian communities with which we have contact."

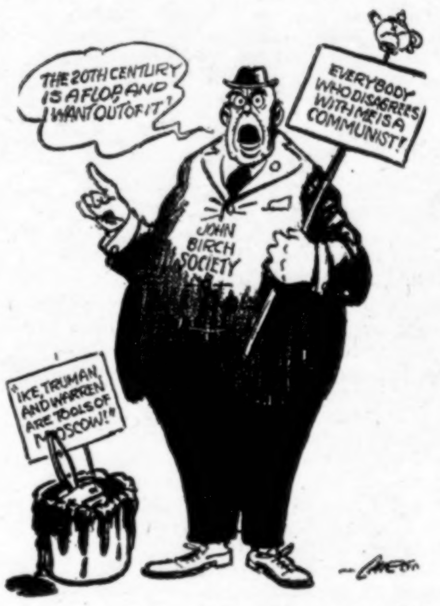
'FALSEHOOD, DISTORTION': Communism On the Map gives the impression that the only countries in the world that haven't already fallen to socialism or communism are Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, the Dominican Republic and the United States—and the U.S. is weakening. After a showing of the film on the campus of the University of Washington, 92 professors signed a statement saying of it: "We are shocked by its irresponsible mingling of fact and falsehood and by its gross distortion of historical events. As scholars concerned with the truth, we protest against this harmful and misleading propaganda."

Thomas at his press conference read from an NEP brochure saying that the Navy Dept. had bought more than 50 prints and listed a dozen or more Navy installations which have shown it. Protests, he said, brought a response from the office of the Asst. Secy. of Defense that the film "should not be used by military personnel in any way implying official endorsement by the Dept. of Defense or by a military department." Thomas noted that this left the way open for showing the film without endorsement. The New York **Post** reported on March 6 that "sponsorship of [the film] has been dropped by the U.S. Navy for civilian audiences, but [it] continues to be used by individual naval stations in the training of officers and enlisted men."

The San Francisco **Chronicle** on June 4 said that "a change in Pentagon policy" had halted dissemination of **Communism On the Map** by Navy and Air Force officers at the Point Mugu Naval Missile Center at Oxnard, Calif. The Chronicle said **Operation Abolition**, the House Un-American Activities Committee's version of the San Francisco student demonstration last year, had been removed from the prescribed training film list but could be shown to military personnel "on request."

One of the chief sponsors of **Communism On the Map** is Capt. Kenneth J. Sanger, commandant of the Sand Point Naval Air Station in Seattle. Sanger led in the formation of what Seattle papers call the "moral-leadership movement" there which purports to expose the communist menace. By mid-March Sanger's activities had provoked numerous protests to Washington, which in turn led to his defense by local organizations like the American Legion, the Navy League and the State Council of Reserve Officers' Assn. A local Chamber of Commerce praised him for his "vigorous Americanism program at Sand Point and in speeches in the Seattle area" and his "efforts to acquaint citizens with the communist threat."

ALL ATTEND: The Seattle **Times** reported that "all personnel at Sand Point attend the Americanism lectures as part of the Navy's drive to improve leadership qualities . . . The message also has been carried to more than 200 community organizations in the Seattle area in the past nine months — all at the clubs' request." The message included showings of **Communism On the Map.** Sanger said he wasn't worried about letters to Washington criticizing him as a "war-monger" and "militarist": "I feel that when I put on this uniform I took an oath to defend my country against all enemies—both foreign and domestic. I don't intend to go back on that oath. I have just begun to fight." Sanger's Sand Point speakers bureau gave 112 talks to 19,000 civilians last year and is estimated to have reached more than 15,000 already this year.


THE 20TH CENTURY IS A FLOP AND I WANT OUT OF IT!
EVERYBODY WHO DISAGREES WITH ME IS A COMMUNIST!
JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY
"IKE, TRUMAN AND WARREN ARE TOOLS OF MOSCOW!!"

Drawing by Cargill

Capt. Isaiah Hampton, commanding officer of the Glenview Naval Air Station near Chicago, is also dedicated to exposing the "communist threat" and last year made his naval base available to Dr. Fred C. Schwarz for a five-day school of anti-communism. Schwarz is head of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade of Long Beach, Calif. Sessions were held three times a day in an auditorium on the base and students included base personnel and naval reservists as well as civilians from nearby communities. The faculty included several Navy officers in addition to Schwarz's regulars, such as Herbert Philbrick, former undercover FBI informer, and Richard Arens, former staff director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Communism On the Map and Operation Abolition were part of the curriculum.

SMEAR CAMPAIGN: While the school was in progress Dr. Tyler Thompson, professor of religion at Northwestern U and a Democratic candidate for the House of Representatives at the time, wired then Secy. of the Navy William B. Franke: "I wish to protest the apparent official link of the Navy to the political propaganda being disseminated . . . at Glenview Naval Air Station. Official program and early publicity clearly indicate Naval sponsorship. Please investigate."

Thompson got an official denial of direct Navy sponsorship of Schwarz's school, but he also became the object of a local smear campaign and was defeated in the election.

Schwarz's organization maintained an office at the Naval Station long after his school closed, which eventually led to another letter of protest to the Secy. of the Navy from 30 residents of the area.

One of the products of Schwarz's school is a three-man team of enlisted men from the Great Lakes Naval Training Center which in the last six months has conducted scores of anti-communist meetings on their own time in the area.

BIRCHER BRASS: The John Birch Society also has its quota of brass among its supporters. The Society's council includes Col. Laurence E. Bunker, former personal aide to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and Lieut. Gen. Charles B. Stone III, who succeeded Gen. Claire Chennault as commander of the 14th Air Force in China and is lifetime honorary chairman of the 14th Air Force Assn.

The Birch Society's committee of endorsers include Lieut. Gen. Edward M. Almond of Alabama, Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, Rear Admiral Paulus P. Powell and Vice Admiral T. G. W. Settle of the District of Columbia; Lieut. Gen. Sumter L. Lowry of Florida, Brig. Gen. W. L. Lee, Maj. Gen. W. G. Weaver and Brig. Gen. T. F. Wessels of Texas; Capt. R. W. Orrell of Virginia, and Col. Tom R. Hutton of Washington.

The latest excursion of the military into this field came late last month when the New York State Division of Military and Naval Affairs announced it would ask the Legislature for funds for a series of seminars "to alert New Yorkers to the danger of communism." Until the Legislature acts, the program will be supported by a privately endowed organization known as American Strategy, Inc., which has headquarters in New York City's financial district. American Strategy came into the picture at the request of Gov. Rockefeller's chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Almerin C. O'Hara, and will provide lectures and material about the nature of communism. The first seminar will be held in Syracuse, N.Y., over the June 24 week end.

NEW PAMPHLET TRACES PRO-FASCIST LINKS

HUAC and the hate groups

A NEW PAMPHLET—**Hate Groups and the Un-American Activities Committee**—by David Wesley, editor of the editorial page of the York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily**, is a chronicle of the committee's relationship with extreme right-wing groups. The pamphlet begins with the links between American pro-Nazis and pro-fascists and the committee under Martin Dies and concludes with the story of the connections of former Committee counsel Richard Arens with racist Wycliffe Draper and the committee's recent attacks on the integration movement as pointed up by Justice Black's dissent in the Braden case.

The pamphlet contains a boast by racist Joseph Kamp that his organization saved the Dies Committee by organizing a letters-to-Congress campaign. Wesley also quotes Rep. Samuel Dickstein as having told the House: "One hundred and ten fascist organizations in the United States have had, and have now, the key to the back door of the Un-American Activities Committee."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in her syndicated column April 13 called it a well-documented pamphlet published as a public service by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. "I think it would be well for every American to read these documents," she wrote. The pamphlet is available from the ECLC office, 421 Seventh Ave., New York, for 25c a copy; 15c each in bulk orders of 100 or more.

Two other pamphlets recently published are Justices Hugo Black's and William Douglas' dissenting opinions in the Uphaus case available at 10c a copy or $5 plus postage on orders of 100 from the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Suite 811, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 24, Ill.; and dissenting opinions in the cases of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson from the Natl. Committee to Abolish the HUAC, 555 N. Western Av., Los Angeles, Calif.

Congress and Vienna

(Continued from Page 1)

by Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) who hailed the President for his "outstanding and truly great statesmanship . . . the wonderful work done in behalf of the country and in behalf of world peace on this trip."

NO QUARREL: Republican Senate leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) was only slightly less enthusiastic. He concluded that no one could "quarrel with the nature of the message, or say that there was anything concealed. . . ." In the House Republican Whip Leslie C. Arends (Ill.) approved the President's report, which made clear, he said, that "this will be a long, hard struggle that will necessitate patience and sacrifices," and called for an end to "the political luxury of the various new spending programs" for welfare legislation.

The key word in most discussions and comments following Vienna was "somber." Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman William Fulbright (D-Ark.) said that "our relations with Russia are very serious and we should not minimize the difficulties we shall face. . . ." Senate Majority Whip Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.) warned that "we must be prepared for a long and continuing period of tension, uncertainty and danger." And Senate Foreign Relations Committee member Bourke R. Hickenlooper (R-Ia.) said: "I did not get any indication of great encouragement."

GOP VIEWS: On June 8, Republican Congressional leaders issued a formal statement calling for an end to test-ban talks in Geneva and for the resumption by the United States of atomic testing. The statement by Dirksen and Halleck also urged the Kennedy Administration to make "vigorous moves which the Kremlin will understand. . . . It is beyond dispute that the only thing the Communists understand is strength." They called for "leadership of the type demonstrated by President Eisenhower" in various trouble spots, including Lebanon, where Marines were landed in a show of force, and Guatemala, where the CIA engineered the overthrow of the popular Arbenz government. When asked if they were suggesting military action, they refused to be specific.

The next day, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) criticized the Administration for failing to clarify the goals of the cold war and failing to issue a list of priorities for their achievement. He said:

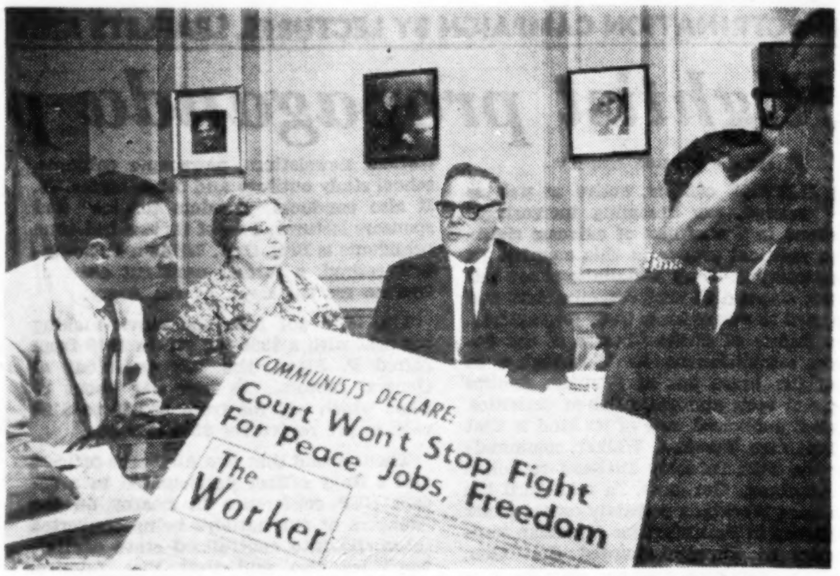
"We have been content with a patchwork, outmoded foreign policy which reeks of hesitation and uncertainty and ineptitude, which rests on an almost infantile belief that—short of a clearly defined shooting war with Russia—we can expect our adversary to negotiate and deal with a semblance of honor."

NOT RULED OUT: At a House hearing Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that guerrilla bands in Asian countries were murdering peaceful citizens. Rep. Walter H. Judd (R-Minn.) keynoter at the 1960 Republican convention, and a loyal supporter of Chiang Kai-shek, challenged Lemnitzer:

"When are we going to take the offensive and cause the Communists some of the same kind of trouble (murders of peaceful citizens) in their own villages?" Lemnitzer responded: "I wouldn't rule that out, but first things must come first. . . ."

The New York **Times** (June 9) observed editorially: "The Republican brinkmanship of Senator Dirksen, Representative Halleck and other party leaders is dangerous. . . . The worst advice of all from the Republicans is that the United States should quit wasting energy trying to negotiate with the Soviet Union. The alternative to negotiation is action . . ."

Apparently the call to recess the atom-ban talks and resume tests will cause little partisan controversy. Atomic policy "experts" of both parties seem to agree that "it is far too risky" to continue the unpoliced moratorium on tests on the assumption that the Soviet Union has not been conducting clandestine tests. Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.), chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, is reported to have advised President Kennedy against continuing the moratorium.


COMMUNISTS DECLARE:
Court Won't Stop Fight For Peace, Jobs, Freedom
The Worker

COMMUNIST PARTY WILL DEFY THE SUPREME COURT RULING

Communist general secretary Gus Hall (right) tells a New York press conference the party will not heed the Supreme Court ruling to register and to supply membership names. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, party national chairman, is in center. See Report to Readers, page 1.

AID BATTLE DUE: Greater controversy may be expected over the Administration's $4.8 billion foreign aid program, with its request that Congress also authorize irrevocably during the next five years a $7.3 billion program of repayable loans financed not by Congressional appropriation but by borrowing from the Treasury. Mansfield told the Senate the foreign aid bill would "test our determination . . . to make the sacrifices necessary for peace and freedom." On June 7, Secretary of State Dean Rusk told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the Kennedy-Khrushchev talks gave new urgency to the foreign aid program, including the requested increase of $500,000,000 since the President's original proposal of March 12. Much Congressional opposition stems from a reluctance to give the Administration a five-year blank check on foreign aid loans. This would mean an abdication of Congress' power to control aid spending. Reinforcing this reluctance is the generally accepted fact that much of the $45 billion in foreign aid since 1946 has been wasted, and, worse, used to prop up corrupt and oppressive government.

MILITARY BILL: More significant opposition is directed at the $1,880,000,000 military aid program and the proposal to end the present ban on such aid for equipping and training guerrilla and other "internal security" forces in neutral countries. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and Gen. Lemnitzer told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that such aid—boosted by $200,000,000 since March—was absolutely needed.

When Rep. D. S. Saund (D-Calif.) charged that foreign aid had been used to support oppressive political regimes, the New York **Times** (June 9) reported, McNamara and Lemnitzer "lost their patience" and McNamara "shouted" that "the condition in South Vietnam is due to the flooding of that area with 12,000 Communists from North Vietnam." Saund said he would forgo further questions if they caused the witness to "become excited," but he noted that $1,775,000,000 in aid to South Vietnam had not strengthened that country against the Communists.

The Administration plan to lift the $55,000,000 ceiling on military aid to South America and provide special "internal security" aid there came under particular attack. Rep. Wayne Hays (D-Ohio) charged that this would merely finance armies to fight each other. He said the need in South America was economic. Hays said:

"Your experience in Cuba with Batista should have taught you that you can't build an armed force on a base of quicksand . . . It was the same in Korea, where you built a monster and a 32-year-old captain proclaimed himself a lieutenant general and took over the government."

Lemnitzer objected to use of the term "monster."

THE 'HARD CORE': Rep. Barrett O'Hara (D-Ill.) called the South American military aid changes "dangerous" and held that the Pentagon was asking for a "blank check from Congress to maintain governments in power." McNamara agreed that a healthy economic base was needed, but contended the first requirement was to deal with the "hard core of disciplined dissidents bent on destroying the government."

Another facet of the foreign aid opposition reflected the puzzled and insecure mood of Congress on foreign affairs. Rep. Marguerite Stitt Church (R-Ill.) told Rusk:

"We have heard much about our strategy for dealing with a world in turmoil. I will ask you now to come before this [Foreign Affairs] committee which provides you with the necessary tools and tell us just what is the world strategy of this country at the present time. Why don't you take us into your confidence just a little instead of asking for all this money?"

Rusk replied: "It is not easy for us to act in these situations with full public discussion of our plans." He promised to tell the House Foreign Affairs Committee later and secretly about the President's Vienna, Paris and London meettings.

A Good Time
For a Good Cause

. . . At the 7th Annual All-Nations Picnic of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Sunday, June 25, at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J.

PICNIC MENU

Barbecued chicken (whole)	$2.00	Hamburger	.25
Barbecued chicken (quarter)	.60	Frankfurter	.15
Barbecued lamb (1 lb.)	2.25	Watermelon	.15
Barbecued lamb (sandwich)	.60	Corn on the Cob	.15
Hungarian goulash	1.00	Ice Cream	.15
Shashlik	1.00	Soda (can)	.15
Barbecued Spare Ribs (1 lb.)	1.00	Fresh Fruit drink	.10
Fresh Ham sandwich	.60	Milk or Hot Coffee	.10
Romanian Steak sandwich	.60	Homemade Strudel	.25

AT 3 P.M. HEAR:

Washington Attorney Joseph Forer

"Recent Supreme Court Decisions and Civil Liberties"

Professor Louise Pettibone Smith

"Democracy and Peace"

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BY AUTO: Lincoln Tunnel or Washington Bridge to Route 46, to Route 202 and north to Hamburg Turnpike. Left on Hamburg Turnpike to Rt. 511. Right on Rt. 511 (Ringwood Avenue) to Westbrook Road, and left on Westbrook Road (DO NOT CROSS BRIDGE!) to Snake Den Road. Left to Camp Midvale.

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FRANCE TURNS BACK AMERICAN MARCHERS AT LE HAVRE

U. S. walkers carry peace torch in Europe

At GUARDIAN press time it was learned that the French Government had prevented 28 members of the San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace March from landing at Le Havre June 13. The group was met by police and special guards when it arrived from England aboard a channel steamer. The walkers were not allowed to debark, and were ordered back to Southampton on the return trip. Guards prevented reporters from interviewing them. A spokesman said the group would return to France to demonstrate against the Government decision. Banning of the walkers from France apparently was motivated by the Algerian situation, which recently caused a halt in all demonstrations tending to criticize the government.

AMERICAN-EUROPEAN MARCH
SAN FRANCISCO to MOSCOW
An Appeal to
West.

Photo by Joe Balcombe

PEACE MARCHERS IN LONDON, ON THE WAY TO SOUTHAMPTON

They are led by A. J. Muste (far right) and Canon Collins (to left of Muste)

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

LONDON

MORE THAN 2,000 Britons rallied behind the American peace marchers at London's Trafalgar Square on June 4, accompanying the U.S. group on the road to Aldermaston, en route to Southampton and France. The procession, carrying banners demanding a ban on nuclear weapons, abandonment of the Polaris base in Scotland and a bar to stationing of West German troops in Britain, was cheered by thousands of sightseers. The marchers, sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action, passed along the same route President Kennedy and his wife were to take a few hours later on their arrival in London from Vienna.

The Americans went on the next day along the historic route of the Aldermaston march. Outside the Aldermaston nuclear weapons research station, where police dogs pace behind the wire fences, the American group held a three-hour vigil on June 9.

WIDE SUPPORT: The welcoming demonstration in Trafalgar Square was called by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and was supported by the British Peace Committee, the Peace Pledge Union and other organizations. The chairman of CND, Canon Collins, voiced hope the Vienna talks would help ease tension between East and West. A. J. Muste, veteran pacifist and secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, praised the struggle of the British people against the U.S. bases in their country.

Bayard Rustin, who has been in London arranging for the further stages of the CNVA march, said in an interview that the CNVA had encouraged the pacifist movement to face the "fact" that if non-violence is to be a social force, it will be because people accept non-violence for the achievement of a limited objective, whereas the earlier movement had thought of it as a way of life. Activities in the U.S. concern the racial struggle, penal reform and civil liberties. Rustin said students, writers, artists, musicians and many ex-soldiers support the movement, but because trade union leaders favor U.S. foreign policy, it is difficult to reach workers.

DIFFERENT VIEWS: As to the difference between the CNVA and the U.S. Campaign for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Rustin said SANE was for ending tests by multilateral agreement while CNVA believed progress would come by unilateral action of one side, to which the other side responds.

In London, Rustin and Muste have talked with leaders of various organizations, including Professor J. D. Bernal, chairman of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council, and Canon Collins.

There are basic differences of viewpoint. The CND regards as its biggest achievement the winning of a majority of British trade unionists to its cause, despite the opposition of leaders who, like their American counterparts, back the cold war policy of their government. The World Peace Council believes international agreements on disarmament and other problems form the final way to peace. The British Peace Committee, an affiliate of the World Peace Council, also takes this view, but advocates unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain. The committee, however, has stressed the difference in the situations in various countries. To ask the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. unilaterally to renounce nuclear arms is not like asking Britain or France to do so.

EAST GERMANY: The Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist country on the route, has written to British peace leaders and to Muste explaining its attitude. The letter says that the Council has "watched with great sympathy the struggle of the courageous American war resisters against the arms race and nuclear arms."

The letter recalls the East German memorandum sent to the 15th UN Assembly, proposing complete disarmament of both German states, evacuation of foreign troops from both states and withdrawal from the NATO and Warsaw pacts, with German neutrality guaranteed either by the allies of World War II or by the UN.

The Council says it is ready to invite a group of the American marchers for a talk on facilitating discussions with the marchers in the GDR, and will ask the Foreign Office to grant visas.

NO PROTESTS: The letter continues, "We should, however, not support protest demonstrations in our country, for we do not see against what the American marchers want to protest here. We know for certain that our government would like nothing better than the realization of initial steps leading to disarmament. Much to our regret so far, every inclination in this direction is lacking in Bonn. That is why we well understand why American friends of peace are undertaking a number of actions in the Federal Republic together with West German war resisters. But we would not understand if the policy of our government were to be put on the same level as that of the West German government."

The letter warns that the youth section of the West German Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party is "aiming at using the initiative of the American war resisters to call for provocative marches across the frontiers of the GDR."

DEPORTATION CASE AGAINST WRITER

Harry Carlisle's hearing is resuming

HEARINGS in the third attempt to deport Harry Carlisle, British-born writer and lecturer, are to resume in Los Angeles on June 21. The hearings were recessed March 10 after the Immigration Service complied with a court order to produce for the defense an affidavit made against Carlisle in 1953 by TV writer-producer Roy Huggins, a government witness.

At the March hearing, Carlisle, who has lived in the U.S. since 1920 and has been harassed by deportation proceedings for the last 11 years, presented a personal statement urging dismissal of the case on grounds of "cruel and unusual punishment" for his political beliefs. Frank Pestana, Carlisle's attorney, moved for dismissal on various constitutional grounds and cited denial of due process because the Immigration Service inquiry officer refused to permit him to cross-examine Huggins.

Carlisle was among a score of persons seized in a midnight raid in 1950 and was held without bail on Terminal Island for seven months. While he was in detention, deportation proceedings began. The Board of Immigration Appeals upheld, then reversed a deportation order.

Deportation was moved again last year after the District of Columbia Court of Appeals in 1959 set aside a second deportation order because the defense was denied access to Huggins' affidavit.

HARRY CARLISLE

A never-ending trial

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

A First Amendment victory

IN ITS FIRST such action since the Watkins Case in 1958, the Supreme Court on June 12 reversed by a 5-4 decision the contempt conviction of Dr. Bernard Deutch, a physicist, for refusing under the First Amendment to answer questions about others than himself put to him by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Justice Potter Stewart joined Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Brennan and Douglas to comprise the majority. Stewart wrote the opinion, which found that the government had not proved that the questions Deutch refused to answer were pertinent to the subject of the inquiry.

Thus, as in the Watkins Case of 1958, the Court avoided the basic constitutional question of the First Amendment rights of witnesses before Congressional committees. However, Justice Stewart's switch was regarded as significant. A large number of First Amendment cases are headed for the Court; two will be heard next term and four others have petitioned for review. Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, said the Deutch decision relieved others of "the dire choice between being an informer and going to jail."

CP UPHELD IN N.Y.: In another decision, this one unanimous and regarded as significant in view of the Court's 5-4 decision last week upholding the 1950 McCarran Act registration demands on the Communist Party, the Court reversed a New York State ruling barring the CP's participation in the state unemployment insurance program. The CP's case was argued by attorney John Abt. The CP said the new decision confirms that the CP is a legal organization and "shows further the groundless, contradictory and illegal character" of the Court's ruling the previous week.

REACTOR PLANTS: A third significant decision, though a setback for liberal forces, brought into public awareness a gathering fight to halt the installation of nuclear reactor plants for peaceful uses of atomic energy until the Atomic Energy Commission can guarantee safe operation. In a 7-2 opinion, Black and Douglas dissenting, the Court reversed lower court decisions halting construction on Michigan's Lagoona Beach reactor project. The action was initiated by the United Auto Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers and the United Paper Workers. At the bottom of the issue is the growing belief that reactor plants should be stayed until a method other than the explosive fission method is developed as the trigger mechanism for nuclear reactors.

Foreign Born Committee holds N.J. picnic June 25

THE 7TH ANNUAL all-nations picnic of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will be held Sunday, June 25, at Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J. Buses leave 49 E. 21 St., New York, 8 to 10 a.m. and return at 7 p.m. Round-trip fare is $1.50. Admission to the picnic is $1, children free. At a 3 p.m. program, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith will speak on "Democracy and Peace" and Washington attorney Joseph Forer on "Recent Supreme Court Decisions and Civil Liberties."

WAS U.S. AID PROMISED DE GAULLE'S FOES?

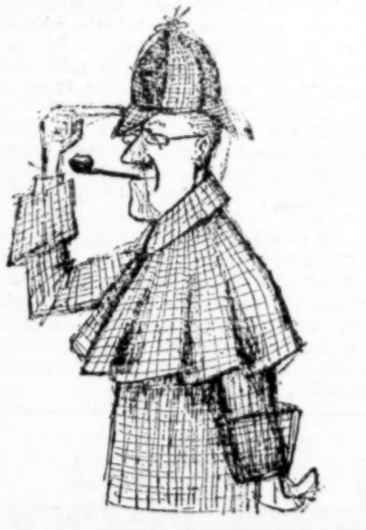
CIA manipulations behind generals' revolt in Algeria

By Robert E. Light

WHEN FRANCE RECOVERED from the shock of the unsuccessful putsch by four insurgent generals in Algeria, April 22-26, it began to look for a logic in the seeming madness. Former generals Maurice Challe and Raoul Salan, who led the revolt, are both noted for their prudence. Neither is considered naive, but both took part in what seemed to be a quixotic scheme.

Official and private opinion in Paris settled on the explanation that agents of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and U.S. military officers in NATO had encouraged the plotters and convinced them that they had Washington's support. The U.S. instigators are said to have wanted to bring down President de Gaulle because he has refused to integrate his troops in NATO and because of fear his policy of granting Algeria independence would lead to "communism" in Africa.

WIDE BELIEF: There is abundant evidence to support this thesis. It was reported with a considerable degree of acceptance on French radio and in leading Paris newspapers, including **Le Monde**, which ranks as a "French New York **Times**." French officials, privately and in public, have endorsed the theory.



Tim in L'Express, Paris

Sherlock Dulles

HOW IT BEGAN: The revolt started April 22, on the eve of Algerian peace talks. Troops of the Foreign Legion and paratroop contingents in Algeria seized control of the country's three major cities—Algeria, Oran and Constantine—and arrested military and civilian officials loyal to Paris. The revolt was led by retired generals Challe, Andre Zeller and Edmond Jouhaud, and supported by Salan, who returned from exile in Spain.

Challe declared that the "aim of the insurrection was to save Algeria from the machinations of de Gaulle and the Provisional Algerian Government, who would let Algeria fall under communist domination." He devoted much of his first speech on Algiers radio to "that fine and brilliant young man, President Kennedy."

QUICK REACTION: De Gaulle reacted swiftly. He assumed emergency powers, proclaimed a blockade of Algeria and ordered loyal troops to crush the revolt.

On April 23, Paris was alerted for a paratroop invasion from Algeria. Civilians lined up for arms. Helmets and boots were handed out and the first people's militia units were set up tentatively.

The next day 12,000,000 workers across the country staged a general strike in support of the Republic. President Kennedy offered de Gaulle full support, including military aid.

An attempt by the insurgents to seize the naval base at Mers-el-Kebir in Algeria was repulsed on April 23. In a telephone call to the admiral in charge of the base, Challe said: "If we don't do it my way, we'll have a Popular Front government here in six months."

The next day loyal pilots flew 15 transport planes out of Algeria, reducing the possibility of an air invasion of Paris.

KENNEDY MESSAGE: On April 26 the generals called it quits. Challe surrrendered; Zeller was captured later; Jouhaud and Salan went into hiding. President Kennedy sent de Gaulle a message of congratulations.

Challe and Zeller were tried and convicted of treason. On May 31, they were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

If the generals' plot were to succeed, it needed to be carried out quickly. De Gaulle had to be overthrown before the unions could mobilize and before a people's militia could be formed. There was little else in France to support de Gaulle. Most army leaders could be counted on to back the revolt, or, at least, to remain neutral. Many civilian officials openly opposed de Gaulle's Algeria policy. Many others were sufficiently opportunistic to sit on the fence until it was clear which side would win.

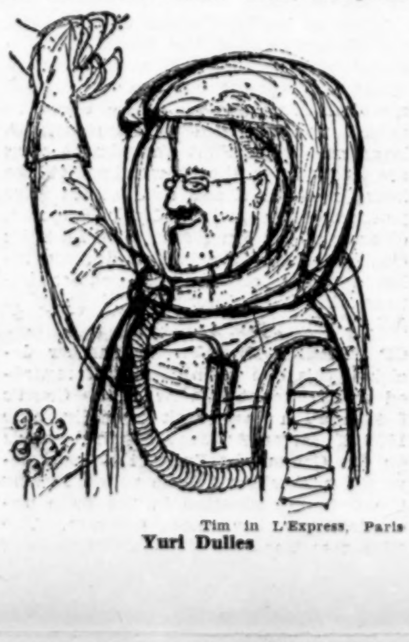
Above all, the plot needed a wink from Washington. If the U.S. would stand off and declare the revolt an internal French matter, the generals had a good chance. If Washington would provide covert help, the odds were even better. But if the U.S. declared for de Gaulle and was willing to send NATO troops, the plot was doomed.

'PROOF' OF PLOT: Paris reasoned that the generals must have had assurances of U.S. support before they moved. On April 25, **Izvestia** in Moscow published a story naming the CIA as instigator of the revolt. The story was reinforced by French army officers who asserted they had "irrefutable" documents proving that CIA agents had promised Challe U.S. recognition if he succeeded. Foreign dipomats in Paris also said they had proof of U.S. complicity.

The story spread through Paris and was accepted in right- and left-wing circles. It made sense to the French because they knew that the U.S. was critical of de Gaulle's independent policy in NATO. Challe had been commander of the Central European forces in NATO for a year and had become close with several U.S. officers.

The French weekly **L'Express**, the Tunisian weekly **Afrique Action**, the London **Daily Mail**, the Washington **Post** and the Chicago **Daily News** carried stories detailing U.S. involvement. Each told substantially the same story.

'NO SECRET': Claude Krief, **L'Express** expert on Algeria, wrote: "In private, the highest French personalities make no secret of it. What they say is this: 'The CIA played a direct part in the Algiers coup, and certainly weighed heavily on the decision taken by ex-general Challe to start his putsch."



Tim in L'Express, Paris

Yuri Dulles

THE LEADERS OF THE RIGHTIST REBELLION IN ALGERIA

The generals who failed: Zeller, Jouhaud, Salan and Challe

The stories traced the plot back to Jacques Soustelle's visit to the U.S. in December, 1960. Soustelle, leader of the right-wing anti-de Gaulle forces, lunched on Dec. 7 with three CIA officials, including operations chief Richard M. Bissell Jr. Soustelle pitched his line:

> An independent Algeria will only hasten the liquidation of Western positions in Africa. If Paris leaves Algiers, Moscow will set up shop in its place. The U.S. must realize that a pro-Western North Africa is the last bulwark against a Communist Africa and Soviet rocket bases at Mers-el-Kebir.

Soustelle also said most leaders of the Provisional Algerian Government were pro-communists. He said de Gaulle's blunders in Algeria would lead to a Popular Front government in Paris.

PRIVATE TALKS: Krief also reported that Challe had private meetings with CIA men, during which he was told: "Getting rid of de Gaulle would render the Free World a great service."

On April 12, the stories said, a meeting of foreign agents was held in Madrid, **Afrique Action** said that present were three CIA agents, one Spaniard, two West Germans, two French colonels and a French general. The CIA men complained that de Gaulle was "paralyzing NATO and rendering the defense of Europe impossible." The French officers agreed that he had to be overthrown. The CIA men are reported to have promised that if the revolt succeeded in pulling off a coup d'etat quickly—i.e., in less than 48 hours—it could depend on U.S. recognition.

In the April issue of **National Defense Review**, Challe attacked de Gaulle's NATO policy and called for a militarily "integrated" Europe.

Paul Ghali, Chicago **Daily News** correspondent in Paris, reported that a few weeks before the revolt, Challe visited Gen. Lauris Norstad, U.S. commander in NATO. "He also met with former American colleagues in the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE) on several occasions during the same period," Ghali added.

U.S. PLEDGE? Waverly Root reported in the Washington **Post** from Paris: "When Challe agreed to assume command of the generals' revolt, it was in part because he was convinced that he had unqualified American support. In fact, an informant qualified to interpret Challe's motives told this writer, he believed he had received assurances emanating from President Kennedy himself of eventual support."

France-Soir found another reason to accept the CIA-Pentagon plot story. It reported from Algeria: "In the streets of Algiers it is considered that it was surely not by accident that Gen. Cobden-Smith, military attache at the U.S. Embassy in Paris, has been moving about Algeria for the last ten days to show the country to his successor. Or at least it is thought here, that is the pretext put forward officially. A hundred persons will tell you that he came to assure Gen. Challe of U.S. support."

TRIAL TESTIMONY: At the treason trial of Zeller and Challe, Gen. Georges Hertier, chief of the general staff in Algeria, testified that when the defendants were trying to convince other officers to join the rebellion, they were asked how they planned to hold out with only three weeks' supply of food, fuel and other necessities. Hertier said that Zeller answered: "We think we can expect help from Portugal, Spain, South Africa, some states of South America, and perhaps even Israel." Challe then added: "And the United States."

Gen. Henri de Pouilly, commander of the Oran region, testified that Challe had said to him: "I knew a great many Allied officers while I was at NATO, and they were all worried about possible communism in Algeria. If we succeed, they won't let us down."

U.S. officials denied that Americans had encouraged the plotters; they pointed to President Kennedy's messages supporting de Gaulle. They said that Soustelle's lunch with the CIA men actually took place on April 4, 1960, and that it had been arranged by an official of French Embassy.

FRENCH DENIAL: But the vehemence of the denials seemed to convince Paris that the rumors were true. French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville moved to close discussion. He said: "Contrary to certain insinuations, the French government had absolutely nothing to do with the growth of these rumors." He added that France had confidence in the good-will of the U.S. government. The New York **Times** (May 6) pointed out: "He did not, however, issue anything like the categorical denial that U.S. officials would like to hear from a responsible French source."

De Gaulle seems to have accepted that the CIA was in touch with the insurgents. He sent an icy reply to President Kennedy's message offering help. Ghali reported: "De Gaulle was . . . inclined to interpret Kennedy's first message as a sign of embarrassment over the CIA agents' activities."

Of both messages, Ghali wrote: "To de Gaulle they seemed like an unwarranted demonstration of U.S. interest in French Algerian affairs."

If France needed a clincher to affirm the rumors, **L'Express** recalled a speech by CIA director Allen Dulles to a private meeting in Paris early this year. Dulles said: "The most solid countries in the Western defense system, those that stand up most strongly against international communist subversion, are those where the military are in power."

AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH VIENTIANE'S CAPTOR

The tales of Capt. Kong Le

OUTSTANDING FIGURES IN THE FIGHT FOR AN INDEPENDENT LAOS
Kong Le (l. center, threads on wrists), Prince Souvanna Phouma, Prince Souphanouvong (r., profile)

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

PEKING

IT IS NOW three weeks since, "somewhere in Laos," I had an evening's talk with Captain Kong Le, the 27-year-old paratrooper who won world headlines last August by seizing Vientiane, the capital, in a single night with 600 men. I have found it hard to write; he was the most baffling person I ever interviewed. Yet his character seems to me the key to Laos, and to why American policy in Asia fails.

Here is a young man of the lowest peasant stock, of the racial group till recently called "Kha" or "slave," who rose to be, at 26, the captain of the best battalion in the Royal Laotian Army, the pride of his generals and of American advisers, so that they sent him for special training to the U.S. Rangers' Training School in the Philippines.

"I could get anything I wanted from the Americans," he brags. "They kept asking: 'What kind of a car do you want? Maybe a car not yet seen in Laos? Just say and we will get it for you'" Yet at last these offers sickened him, and when he made his coup d'état his chief attack was against those who are bought by foreign gold.

NO RESPECT: Nor does this scion of "slaves" show any respect for the U.S. brass, which furnished ten American and eight Filipino "advisers" to his battalion. His very best tale—given to Ted Brake, the British correspondent, who gave it to me—is of how "my top American brass went around with me that night when I gave the orders for the coup d'etat. But he never learned enough Laotian to understand that we were seizing the capital; he thought we were going to mop up the Pathet Lao!" This tale is symbolically such basic truth that one wonders whether it could also be fact.

This was what baffled me throughout my talk with Kong Le; everything he said was too good a tale to seem true. He had the gay manner of a college boy bragging of pranks, watching you sidewise to see how much you believe. I wondered: How much of this is real?

There is no doubt he pulled off a complex coup that took the capital of Laos in a manner the French military described as "almost Napoleonic." There seems no doubt he talked about it beforehand to all and sundry, to his soldiers, to the police, to politicians, to generals, none of whom believed him. This is why he is alive today. This bluffing manner may be a trick of survival.

IDOL OF YOUTH: Kong Le has become the idol of the youth of Laos. They flocked to him when he was in Vientiane, and formed the "Youth Committee for Neutralism, National Independence and Peace." When the American - financed General Phoumi Nosavan attacked Vientiane in December, Kong Le gave out weapons to youths who had never held guns before. They fought heroically for Vientiane alongside Kong Le's paratroopers and later withdrew with Kong Le to the Plain of Jars.

The week before I met him, Kong Le told me 255 people had walked all the way from Vientiane to join him. Many were Buddhist monks. They reported that the "pro-Americans" persecute them, because their Buddhist views on neutralism and ascetism are considered "communist." The monks pray for Kong Le, and as an individual "blessing," tie a cotton thread around his wrist, with a prayer. Kong Le's wrists are festooned halfway to his elbows with threads untidy and gray with age.

UNASSUMING: When Kong Le came to the room where I waited for him he was so unobtrusive, almost diffident, that I took him for a guard. This, I learned, is a common mistake; at field headquarters, he is taken for his own sentry. He is a stocky, short man, with dark skin. He work dark trousers and a gray shirt, open at the throat without tie or jacket. His hair was black and bushy. He smiled like an embarrassed youth.

"I revere you like my own grandmother," was one of the first things he said, implying that he consulted his grandmother on his actions. I felt that he was really moved that a woman as old as I should be interested enough in Laos to travel so far.

"Is it a fact," I asked, "as an American paper states, that you discussed the coup d'etat with General Phoumi Nosavan, but he thought you would make it for him?"

'THEIR MAN': Kong Le nodded. "Not only with General Phoumi, but with all my four generals. To each general I said: 'This government is very corrupt and I shall overthrow it. Now you are a good general and will make a good prime minister. What are your good ideas about Laos?' Then every general thinks he would make a good prime minister, and that I am 'his man.' And truly I am 'his man,' for I am just a captain and take his orders. But when he tells me his ideas for Laos, I see that he only thinks of his own advancement, and not of the good of Laos."

Kong Le sought out Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao, in 1958, in the brief period of coalition government when the prince was minister of reconstruction and planning. The prince was very busy, able to give only a few minutes to a captain he had never met. Those minutes were, however, "unforgettable," said Kong Le, for he then realized that the Pathet Lao cherished the same dream for Laos that he did—independence, neutrality, internal peace.

ANOTHER TALE: Kong Le told me that, before the coup, he also talked with Prince Souvanna Phouma. Here again, his tale was symbolically so fitting that one hesitated to accept it as fact. "I told Prince Phouma: 'By rights you are our premier, but the Americans do not accept it. What are your ideas for Laos? We have been in war 15 years; what can we do?' Then Phouma said: 'We must be a neutral nation, friendly to all nations that are friendly to us. We must get rid of corruption. We must take the Pathet Lao forces into the Royal Army.' And I told him: 'This coincides with my ideas. I will overthrow this government and make you premier.' But Prince Phouma laughed, for he did not believe me either. But I believed him."

When Kong Le made the coup in August, he invited Phouma to resume the premiership, which Phouma had held twice before, each time deposed by the Americans. This again indicates a contradiction in Kong Le. While he will brag of his deeds as a soldier, he is modest about taking power.

HIS CHILDHOOD: Kong Le told me of his origin. He was born in a poor peasant family in southern Laos, and his father died when he was a child, leaving him with a mother and grandmother. As a youngster he knew of the battles of the Pathet Lao against the French. His village was pleased when the guerrillas beat the French but the village was also fearful, for the French would take revenge on the villagers.

From this background the boy sought education. The village teacher gave him lessons in return for work. Kong Le won a royal scholarship to the Savannakhet high school.

"I could only manage a year," he said, "for the scholarship was not enough for food."

The boy then entered a Buddhist temple as a monk, serving a few years. From this one assumes he drew his ideals of neutralism and asceticism. For even before the coup, Kong Le took the money and the gifts of the Americans and gave them to the poor. Kong Le entered the army in the period after 1950, when France gave a so-called independence to Laos, but used the Royal Army against the Pathet Lao.

"You joined for the sake of your country?" I asked.

"I thought so. But also I liked a uniform and a steady pay."

OFFICER AT 20: Kong Le was not happy when he found himself fighting other Laotians. When the Geneva Agreements were signed in 1954, he was glad. He was already an officer, now 20 years old. "But the fighting kept on," he said, "and the Americans began coming to Laos, and giving us a bigger and bigger army. And always we kept fighting the Pathet Lao, who were Laotian peasants."

He was especially distressed when an army detachment "mopped up" his own village, and killed old people he had known. More and more he saw the Pathet Lao as "brother peasants." After he met Souphanouvong, his aversion to fighting the Pathet Lao hardened. Yet in that same year of 1958, the Americans sent him to the U.S. Rangers School in the Philippines, where he learned quicker ways of killing men.

Kong Le told me he has a wife and three living children, besides three who died in infancy. Those living are two daughters and one son. "They are with their mother," he said, "and I am separated from them. For I must think of my country. All of my thought now goes for the independence of Laos." He said this simply, without pomp.

THE BIG COUP: It was when he told tales of the coup d'état that I found it hard to believe him. The tales were just too good.

He said a single company took the Phon-Xan garrison, the Ministry of Defense, the radio station, the post office, the bank, the prison and the power plant. He related that a single platoon surrounded houses of reactionary generals, and five men went down the chimneys and arrested two generals before they awoke. He said he had a friend in the city police department, a lieutenant, who locked up the weapons supply so that 300 police surrendered on demand.

Any of these incidents can be believed. But was it possible for all of them to happen in a single pre-dawn period of three hours, in a city with 5,000 miscellaneous soldiers, all stiffened with American advisers?

Kong Le gave me the key in a casual statement. "The coup was very popular, and I had friends in all the services," he said. "As soon as I told them at the airfield that we were overthrowing the government, the pilot just gave me ten American planes."

THE REASON: Those words seem classic: The pilots had been flying Kong Le's paratroopers to fight the Pathet Lao for years. But they tossed him the American planes gladly. They were fed up! Those words explain the coup, and Laos and Kong Le.

I asked Ted Brake, who had spent two weeks in Kong Le's camp, why the captain spoke of making the coup with 600 men, when elsewhere his battalion was said to have 800. Brake replied:

"Didn't he tell you? There were 800 in the battalion but Kong Le discussed the coup with all the men and asked how many wanted to join it. Six hundred said they would; the other 200 said they would wait to see how it succeeded. Later, of course, they all joined."

At the end of our interview, I asked Kong Le, "Is there anything you want to say to Americans?"

He replied: "Tell them not to come and make trouble in Laos and in other countries. No people like to be a colony. Even a little country like Laos likes to be independent and not dominated by foreigners."

I pass his message on.

Janet Stevenson to speak on U.S.S.R., India in L.A.

JANET STEVENSON, novelist and playwright, who recently returned from the World Council of Peace conference in New Delhi, India, will speak on "Punjab and Uzbekistan: Contrasts in National Cultures" at the First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, at 8 p.m. Sunday, June 25. Admission is $1.

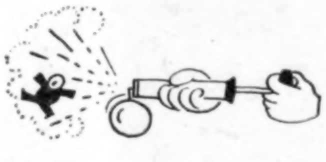
'SHEEP MAKE BAD POLICEMEN'

Shaw as a music critic

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW was one of the most brilliant critics of music who ever lived. Yet, his music criticism would be forgotten today were it not for his reputation as a dramatist. The Standard Edition of his works includes four volumes of music criticism selected by Shaw himself from pieces written in the Eighties and Nineties. Now, a fifth volume,* comprising the uncollected pieces (some were written when Shaw was barely 20) has been published. This contains enough remarkable material to be a worthwhile supplement to the other volumes.

Shaw's knowledge and understanding of the repertory was superior to that of any contemporary critic or performer, while his recognition of musical values in composer or performer was uncanny. But that was only part of Shaw's uniqueness.

HIS CRITICISM developed from the belief that through art man lifts himself to a higher awareness. He was a critic in search of values, and music was one of the humanities. Thus, he spoke disparagingly about his early criticism, declaring that though he was deficient neither in literary ability nor musical knowledge, he did not know how to criticize. About ten years later, however, ". . . I had graduated as a critic, as a writer, and as a citizen (a most important item) by constant work as an author, a critic of books, pictures, and politics, a public speaker, and a social reformer, including the function of the wirepuller and committeeman, as well as of the theorist and Utopian. All this had nothing to do with music; yet, in my musical criticism, it made all the difference between an execrable amateur and a reasonably competent workman."



Shaw's purpose was to educate, and his criticism was directed to a mass audience. His method was: Attack! His targets were managers, publishers, critics, patrons, government, conductors and performers. "If only we had a few thoroughly vindictive critics," he wrote, ". . . we should bring the opera houses to their senses in half a season. The critic is the policeman of the opera. Unfortunately, sheep make bad policemen." But "mere protest against inferior work never educates the public. The only way to make them intolerant of bad work is to show them better." This guiding principle was the measure of Shaw's utter seriousness.

SHAW'S MUSIC criticism spanned nearly three-quarters of a century. That he made erring judgments is not surprising; on the whole, the mistakes were few. Up to the very end of his life, even as he entered upon his 90s, he fiercely maintained his reputation as a "torchbearer of the new." On principle, he approved of wholly 20th Century avant-garde composing procedures.

Lastly, the readability of the criticism is amazing. The directness, the wit, the liveliness of intellect and the sheer brilliance of statement are superb. They are not unrelated to a remark that Shaw once made to Busoni about Mozart, whom he regarded as the greatest of all the muscians: "He taught me how to say profound things and at the same time remain flippant and lively."

—Max March

**HOW TO BECOME A MUSICAL CRITIC, by Bernard Shaw. Edited with an introduction by Dan H. Laurence. Hill and Wang. XXIII and 359 pp. $5.*

NEW YORK

Remember the Rosenbergs

On March 6, 1952, Julius Rosenberg wrote to Ethel: "We never were wallflowers and we intend to make our weight felt." December 26, 1952, for 22 days and nights, the White House vigil continued. On January 5 the line swelled to 3,000 persons. Later, in those crucial days of the final week of June, the line became 15,000.

On Sunday, June 18, 1961, at 12 noon, friends of the Rosenbergs will make their weight felt by gathering in memory, not in mourning, at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, N.Y. Will you join us in placing a rose of love and life on their graves? Take Whitestone or Triborough bridge to Southern State Parkway, Exit 35 to Wellwood Cemetery. For transportation call B. Halebsky, TUlip 1-1327.

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BOOKS

Affirmation at Buchenwald

IT IS HARD to be objective about Bruno Apitz's story of Buchenwald,* the first novel chosen by the East German Seven Seas Publishers for its new series of modern German authors in English translation. For this is the story of the last weeks of the concentration camp, written by a former inmate.

The author, a writer, newspaperman and theatrical and motion picture director, was arrested for political activity in the earliest days of Hitler. He was part of the slave labor force sent in to build the camp, one of its earliest native inmates. He survived the whole 12 years of its existence. After liberation he went back to his old occupations—but he could not rest until he had put the story he had lived down on paper. In 1958 he took a sabbatical on this project, and in 1959 his book won him the National Prize Award. A film version is now in the making.

Not since **Professor Mamlock** has there been a work of truth-fiction quite like this one. Powerful books about the occupation and the war have come out of France, Poland, the Soviet Union—but this is commentary about Germany **by a German,** and it strikes deep. Here, concentrated in the last few weeks before the collapse of the Third Reich, is the story of how the zebra-suited inmates of Buchenwald retained their humanity through 12 years of being denied the most fundamental rights of human dignity.

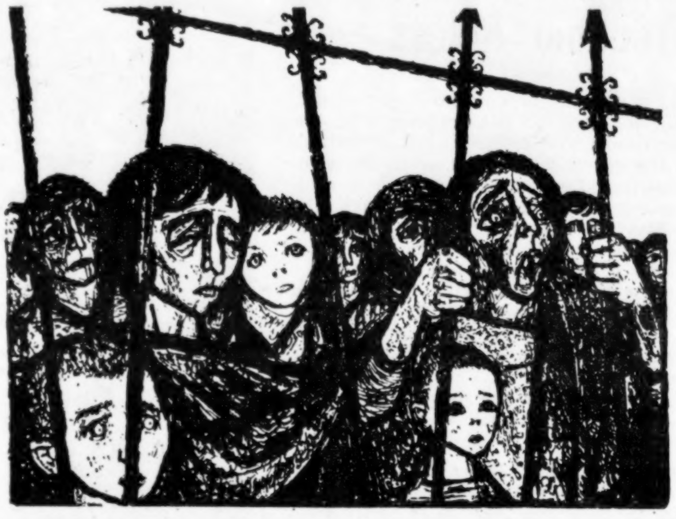
BUCHENWALD WAS one of the few concentration camps, if not the only one, inside Germany with a disciplined, organized underground. At the outset its leaders were chiefly known German Communists and socialists, uncompromising trade unionists and political figures—the most famous of them being Ernst Thaelmann, secretary of the German CP. Even before World War II had augmented the camp's population with prisoners from occupied countries and eventually with POWs who brought with them their military training and heightened political consciousness—thus tipping the organization potential a bit more in favor of the underground—the early inmates had done a remarkable job. They had cells in every barracks, in every office and storeroom. Their grapevine was a marvel of accuracy, in the face of constant risk of detection which meant slow death by torture—and risk of betrayal by what were euphemistically known as unreliable elements among the prisoners themselves.

But by 1945 Buchenwald had become a melting pot of nationalities, and the common goal was freedom. The battlefront was coming closer and closer, and the camp commanders could no longer hide the disintegration of the German war machine. Secret transmitters kept the camp informed of Allied victories east and west. Where for years the goal had been stubborn survival, there was now tangible hope ahead. If only they didn't murder you at the very last, in the middle of the night, as a few weeks earlier they'd murdered Thaelmann—if only you didn't succumb to starvation and lice-borne disease—if you didn't get kicked to death at a sergeant's whim—you might yet walk out through the gates.

AT THIS POINT, with panic among the "masters" growing, with other prison camps being evacuated and new transports of prisoners arriving daily to add to the overcrowding and the chaos, a Polish Jew comes in a cattle train, dragging a battered suitcase along. When this is forcibly taken from him he is in such despair that the senior prisoner in charge of the effects room looks inside the suitcase while no officers are around. What he finds is a tiny, silent, wizened 3-year-old, the first child he has seen in 12 years.

The Jew who has risked his life to keep the child with him is not its father; the father is long since dead. The child has been kept alive in hiding, shuttled from camp to camp since babyhood. At the sound of the German language, it freezes. When it hears Polish spoken, it relaxes a little.

Hoefel, the effects room senior, knows the child must go. So does Pipping, his assistant, and Kropinski, the Pole who can talk to the child and make it smile. The other leaders of the International Camp Committee which is the backbone of the underground know it even better — without direct contact with the child they see it only as a source of mortal danger to the entire organization. Buchow, the former CP representative from Bremerhaven, who is Hoefel's contact, makes it coldly clear to him, and he speaks for the other leaders. Not all prisoners are to be trusted. Have they the right to risk discovery—and inevitable decimation of the resistance structure—for the sake of what Buchow tries to call a sentimental gesture?



Maybe not. But one after the other they are all involved. When the man who brought the child is hastily shipped to another extermination camp, his suitcase remains behind. For better or worse, they are now committed. To keep the child alive becomes a sacred duty, an affirmation of their deepest humanity, and each understands that his actions are predetermined and inevitable, even though **after** acting each might reproach himself and his comrades for softness.

THE SECRET leaks out. The Nazis, already panicky, utilize the rumors to strike out at those prisoners whom they suspect of leadership. Men are tortured, some to death. One of the effects room prisoners turns informer. Still the inquisitors learn nothing. When pain becomes unbearable, those who really know the secret take refuge in screaming in order to keep from talking. And in the meantime a fresh wind is blowing through the camp. The prisoners who have schooled themselves for years not to feel now find that feeling is not dead in them. They even remember how to weep—and how to laugh.

This is a harsh and bitter book written by a man who was taught how to hate. Yet for all its horror it is anything but a horror story—the affirmation is too strong. It is a tale of suspense almost unbearable in its painful intensity—yet we cannot put it down, for sheer awe before the courage and selfishness of which the human spirit is capable.

Naked Among Wolves drives home the point that those who refuse to survive at the price of living on their knees are not willing martyrs. On the contrary, they consciously and quietly reject any suggestion of being cast in that role. They love life. They want to live. They merely feel that precious though life may be, it is never worth selling a comrade for. It is this knowledge which distinguishes them from the wolves who surround them and which gives them their deepest strength.

—Jean Karsavina

**NAKED AMONG WOLVES, by Bruno Apitz, translated by Edith Anderson. Seven Seas Publishers. 413 pp. $1.15. Available at the Jefferson Bookshop, 100 E. 16th St., New York 3, N.Y., and at the Progressive Book Shop, 1806 W. 7th St., Los Angeles 57.*

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Freedom Riders

(Continued from Page 1)

off period for those who are hot with hatred, hot with violence; but none for the people who are seeking their rights." A Harlem leader was quoted in the **Afro-American** June 10 as in favor of a cooling-off period "if the white folks who advocate a cooling-off period are willing to abide by all the restrictions under which a colored man has to live for a similar period." Editorially the **Afro** said June 3 of the cooling-off idea: "This is disappointing advice. It is especially so coming from the nation's top law enforcement officer . . . Mr. Kennedy and the Dept. of Justice should stand firm in requiring compliance in all states with the statutes."

'OUTRAGEOUS': James L. Hicks, **Amsterdam News** editor, said June 10: "We submit that this the most outrageous and the most insulting proposition which a high government official has ever made to a group of freedom-loving Americans. . . . The Freedom Riders MUST and WILL go on even if they ride Robert Kennedy into oblivion."

Among the country's major dailies only the Denver **Post** pinpointed squarely the issue:

"The only way to avoid provocation is for colored persons not to go to the schools, not to eat at the lunch counters, not to ride the buses, not to exercise their rights."

It was evident to many that the Administration has not forthrightly dealt with the most significant aspect of the civil rights struggle—its morality.

The Attorney General has indicated that he can get hot over the statements of recalcitrant state authorities. (He is reported to have shouted at Gov. Patterson when the Governor said that Alabama Adjutant General Henry Graham had reported he could not guarantee the safety of Dr. King: "You have the General call me. I want him to say it to me. I want to hear a General of the United States Army say he can't protect Martin Luther King.")

MORALITY ISSUE: But criticism has been leveled at the President and the Attorney General for a lack of interest in the immorality of the attack on the Freedom Riders and of segregation itself. The **Afro-American** June 3 said:

"One hundred years after the Civil War who, we ask, could have the effrontery to term provocative a simple attempt to enjoy the Constitutional right of a non-discriminatory bus ride anywhere in these United States of America?

THE FREEDOM RIDERS CAN'T STAY FREE IN JACKSON
The charge is "breach of peace" at a bus terminal

"As if this were not perversion enough, an Alabama judge has the gall to seek the arrest of Freedom Riders for violating his spurious injunction forbidding any protest of Southern travel injustice . . . But even more shocking . . . is the failure not only of the so-called decent Southern majority to speak out in bold and uncertain terms, but of Americans generally to see the moral issue involved in this struggle for freedom."

Murray Kempton wrote in the New York **Post** May 31: "Atty. Gen. Kennedy's defense against the second Mississippi-Alabama war of rebellion was correct, occasionally bold but generally detached from the issue of morality it presents . . . Its [the Justice Dept.'s] chief hope was that they [the Freedom Riders] would go away peacefully and remove with themselves the cause of trouble . . . Does any critic of the Freedom Riders really believe that, without them, the Justice Dept. would have asked the ICC to move this week or next or next month for that matter?"

A Negro newspaper, the **Empire Star** of Buffalo, N.Y., carried the argument one step further. It pointed out that not only has the Federal government failed to enforce the law, but the 14th Amendment's provisions for apportionment of Congressional seats according to population has never been enforced. Thus a system of discriminatory government is allowed to perpetuate itself. Because of this, the paper said, there is continuation in Federal office of "spineless, unscrupulous men who were willing to wink at certain violations, to favor certain big interests, to close their eyes to regional wrongs, to barter the rights of the people for votes . . ."

The end of one episode in the Alabama story came June 8 when the leader of the Montgomery mob, Claude Henley, as fined $100 and sentenced to 30 days for assaulting two white newsmen. On June 12 Judge Johnson refused to prolong the temporary injunction against the Freedom Riders, but warned that he might reinstate it later, if necessary.

NO MARSHALS: Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett avoided Alabama's problems, including the appearance of Federal marshals, by not encouraging the mob and by arresting the Riders with dispatch. The declaration of martial law in Alabama and an injunction against the Ku Klux Klan and Alabama law enforcement officers gave that state unfavorable publicity which Barnett took pains to prevent. Mississippi's public relations effort even extended to a press conference at which Jackson's Mayor Allen Thompson gave a slide talk on improvements made in Jackson with particular emphasis on the benefits which have accrued to Negroes with the building of new and segregated facilities and schools.

Gov. Barnett's answer to a question about Rev. King at one of his press conferences indicated his attitude toward the civil rights struggle: The Governor said: "Who is Martin Luther King?"

By June 11, 110 Freedom Riders had been arrested. They included students from several Northern universities, New York State Assemblyman Mark Lane and Percy Sutton, president of the New York NAACP. Lane and Sutton posted bond June 8 and announced their intention to continue "observing" the extent of segregation in interstate travel facilities. In Montgomery, Ala., they had been served orange juice at the "white only" lunch counter, but at the Jackson air terminal waiting room they were arrested. On their way to jail the Police Chief detoured to show Lane, as a touring legislator, the state's Capitol.

LONGER TERMS: The latest groups of Freedom Riders were sentenced to four months (with two months suspended) and $200 fines. Earlier groups had drawn suspended two-month sentences and $200 fines. Most of the Riders have chosen to serve out their fines at $3 per day. Several, including a Negro girl and Rev. C. T. Vivian of Nashville, Tenn., reported they were struck by prison guards at the county prison farm for refusing to say "sir."

Meanwhile, the controversy continued over whether the rides hurt or helped the civil rights struggle, and whether the Federal Government's actions had been adequate. Several Northern colleges and groups such as the Americans for Democratic Action and the American Civil Liberties Union announced all-out support of the Freedom Riders.

A group of religious leaders in the San Francisco area organized themselves as the "Freedom Writers." They included the Rt. Rev. James A. Pike, Episcopal bishop of California, and Rabbi Sidney Akselrad, president of the Board of Rabbis of Northern California. They called for a million signatures and contributions of ten cents per signature to aid the Riders.

The Transport Workers Union of America sent a check for $5,000 to the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), sponsor of the original Freedom Ride group. Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union expressed full support of the Freedom Rides and wired Alabama's Gov. John Patterson that the ILWU will "place a boycott on all products and goods to and from your state by refusing to handle such goods" if he did not protect the Riders.

'MODERATE' VIEW: On the other side were those who criticized the Freedom Riders as "provokers" of discord and "outsiders." In a moderately critical report the Southern Regional Council, a civil rights organization whose general approach is to establish communication between the "moderates" of both races, said that the Freedom Riders came from outside the community, whereas the sit-ins were conducted by local residents. A footnote said:

"It is moderately interesting that professors from a great university which has not a single Negro on its faculty felt a call to crusade in the South."

The report said that the white South now must "adjust also to new types of organiaztions, less ready to be patient. [It was] The Freedom Ride this year. If white Southerners have any good sense, it will not have to be a truly 'extremist' group next year—and there are such lurking in the wings."

SOVIET EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN'S BOOKS TOURING U.S.
Organized under the Soviet-American cultural exchange, an exhibit of Soviet children's books is being displayed at the New York Public Library, 42nd St. at Fifth Ave., until June 28. It goes to Cleveland in July and Denver in August. More than 2,000 books by Soviet and foreign authors will be shown. Juvenile books in the U.S.R.R. are published in 50 languages of the peoples inhabiting the country, and in 19 foreign languages. Visitors will learn also about children's libraries in the Lovozersk District of the Murmansk region (Kola peninsula).

Swastikas are carved on a Freedom Rider

THE VIOLENCE that is traditionally smoldering in the South came to the surface in two recent incidents. In Sumter, S.C., a Morris College Freedom Rider, Harman K. Harris, reported he had been abducted, blindfolded, taken to the woods and threatened with castration. He was returned to the campus with "KKK," crosses and swastikas carved on his legs, arms and body.

In Trinity, N.C., a fight with knives and sticks broke out between groups of Negroes and whites after a white counter man refused to serve three Negroes. The town's 700 residents were terrorized through the night while the whites searched for a missing participant in the fight. The man turned up in the early morning, having spent the night under a house.

Segregationists sample Lane's replies, give up

N. Y. STATE ASSEMBLYMAN Mark Lane was arrested in Jackson, Miss., with Percy Sutton, head of the Manhattan branch of the NAACP at the end of a trip from Atlanta, Ga., to observe the handling of inter-racial travel. He reports his interrogation by Chief of Detectives M. E. Pierce as follows:

"They asked me if I believed in intermarriage and I told them I didn't think my philosophy was any of their concern.

"They asked me if I didn't think there was discrimination in New York and I told them yes, and that I had introduced legislation to fight it. They asked me if I believed in a Supreme Deity and I said yes and that He intended us to live in love and brotherhood. Then they gave up."

Lane's first public appearance on his return to New York will be Friday, June 16, at Creston Jr. High, Creston Ave. and 181 St., Bronx, where he will address a meeting sponsored by the 8th A.D. Independent Democrats.

CALENDAR

BAY AREA

Another Guardian Forum: — WHAT ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT? Speakers: Philip Eden, ILWU Research Dept.
FRIDAY — JULY 7 — 8 P.M.
United Nations Hall, 160 Grand Ave., Oakland. Ausp: SONG (Supporters of Natl. Guardian)

LOS ANGELES

JANET STEVENSON
reports on World Tour—India, Ghana, Europe.
"PUNJAB, UZBEKISTAN—CONTRAST IN NATIONAL CULTURES"
SUN, JUNE 25 — 7:30 P.M.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St.

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HOW SAFE IS THE FOREIGN-BORN AMERICAN? Speaker: Marvin Stern, Leg. Dir., American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, CENTRAL PLAZA ANNEX, 40 E. 7 St., (Nr. 2nd Ave.), Room BB, one flight down.
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THE GALLERY

FORMER PRESIDENT HARRY S. TRUMAN used a family visit to New York this month to give the nation the benefit of his views on a variety of subjects. Of the Northern Freedom Riders who are challenging segregation at Southern bus and train terminals, he said: "They stir up trouble. They ought to stay here and attend to their own business."

Truman, who fancies himself a historian, added that earlier "outside agitators" William Lloyd Garrison and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe "did their part in bringing on the Civil War." Garrison was editor of the abolitionist paper the **Liberator.** Mrs. Stowe wrote **Uncle Tom's Cabin,** a novel which is credited with stirring the consciences of whites against slavery.

Truman allowed that it was all right for Southerners to test the laws and customs of their states. That, he said, was "their own business."

FOLLOWING REPORTS of the former President's comments, Jim Peck, a white New Yorker who was severely beaten by a Birmingham mob on May 14, approached Truman during his early morning walk. When Peck introduced himself as "a Freedom Rider from the North," Truman commented: "Well, you'd better stay there."

Peck said: "As I see it, ending racial segregation in the United States is the business of all conscientious citizens, north, south, east and west. Racial segregation—more than any other single factor—besmirches the U.S. in the world's eyes and aids the communist propaganda machine."

Truman replied: "That's just what you're doing; helping the communists."

Peck said: We must show the world that we practice democracy—not just preach it—and that means ending segregation." Truman cut him off with: "I don't want to talk about it any more. I've got nothing further to say."

BUT TRUMAN DID HAVE more to say the next day to Joel Geier, 22, and Thalia Syracopulous, 18, of the Young People's Socialist League, who have engaged in a sit-in at the offices of American Broadcasting Company-Paramount Theaters in protest against the company's segregation policy at its Austin, Texas, theater. Truman called the young people "eager beavers" and suggested the places to begin are those in "New York, Boston and Chicago where Jews and Negroes can't enter."

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. commented: "Our former President has no understanding of the depths and dimensions of the segregation problem.

Truman also had opinions on other issues. Of Cuban Premier Castro, he said: "I think he's a thief, a thug and, I might also add, he's a murderer."

On the Kennedy-Khrushchev meeting in Vienna, he said: "There's always a chance of success. But I never trusted the Russians. They always broke their promises."

As an evaluation of his successor, Truman said: "I can only quote what the Senator from Oregon [Wayne Morse] said: 'Eisenhower made a statesman out of President Grant'."

NEWSPAPERMEN SEEM TO BE the same the world over. Soviet cosmonaut Yuri A. Gagarin complained that Soviet journalists raided his apartment, stole his personal photograph album and family correspondence and published both pictures and letters without permission. He also said some reporters had "made up facts" about his April 12 orbiting of the earth. **Soviet Press,** organ of the journalists union, said that reporters, in "their unrestrained desire to outdo each other, were suddenly gripped by a strange and absolutely inadmissible spirit of ballyhoo." . . . The GUARDIAN somehow got invited to a private showing of new models of Japanese cars to be sold here soon. Since the paper does not usually write about vehicles, unless they're tractors for traitors, we wondered about the invitation. A small line at the bottom may explain it: A new Japanese car is called the "Cedric." . . . In an article in **Advertising Age** called "Selling Freedom Is a Marketing Job," Kenneth Groesbeck, advertising agency consultant, wrote: "Modern packaging of freedom would insist on a visibility panel through which the contents may be seen clearly. Thus when communist propaganda calls those contents imperialism or colonialism, shoppers in the 'Supermarket of the World' can see the lie refuted, with their own eyes." Groesbeck concluded: "Yes, this emergency is a marketing job." . . . Corliss Lamont will discuss "The Cuban Situation" on the Casper Citron Show on WRFM (105.1 FM), June 16 between 11 p.m. and midnight. Nicholas Biddle of the Intl. Rescue Committee will also appear. He is likely to have opposing views. The program will be rebroadcast June 19, between midnight and 1 a.m., on WNTA AM and FM.

—Robert E. Light

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GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

June Gift Roundup

GUATEMALA JACKET: The **GBS** is glad that it was able to obtain this stunning, hand-woven jacket. This is a sturdy garment that will last for years. The background is white with Indian designs in black, blue, maroon or brown. Sizes 12, 14, 16, 18, 20. The **GBS** price is the lowest price anywhere ....**Just $12**

GUATEMALA SKIRT: We saw our lovely hand-woven skirt selling for $15.75 in a N.Y.C. shop. A recent purchaser wrote: "I just received the skirt ordered from the **GBS.** It is lovely. I'm mightily pleased with it." Available in two combinations: All white designs on black, royal blue or red; multi-colored decorations on black, navy blue, gray or brown. Sizes: 24-26-28-30-32. A real bargain at **$10**

TIKVA RECORDS: These high-quality records are a bit more expensive but the pleasure of listening to them is worth the extra cost. T-7—**MARTHA SCHLAMME SINGS JEWISH FOLK SONGS.** The songs include: Rozhinkes Mit Mandlen; Eingemachts; Chatkale; Vuzhe Villst Du. A fine gift at..............**GBS Price $4**

T-24—**ISRAELI DANCES:** These delightful dances are recorded for the first time in America. Dvora Lapson was the dance consultant. Tova Ronni, vocal soloist. Dances include: Our Negev; To the Well; Wine Dance; A Well in the Meadow. A booklet of dance instructions is included. For folk dancers of all ages, this is a must. ....**GBS Price $4**

Three popular children's records

WC 302—COME AND SEE THE PEPPERMINT TREE; Lyrics and music by Evelyn D. Lohoefer, Donald McKayle, vocalist. The imagery of the lyrics and tunes, which shifts from simple, folk-like songs to imaginative little tone poems, will stir the creative impulses of child and parent alike. Here's an excellent new "participation" record for children from age four up.

"Highly recommended" **—Parents Magazine**

"A treasure . . . irresistible" **—Martha Graham**

"An imaginative record . . . a breath of freshness."**—New York Herald Tribune.**

12" L.P. **$3.75**

WC 301—TOM GLAZER CONCERT with and for **CHILDREN;** One of America's finest folk singers in an actual performance with children.

". . . the best in children's records . . ." **—The New York Times**

". . . you and your children have a feast in store . . ." .....—Look Magazine.

12" L.P. **$3.75**

WC 303 — "SOMETIME — ANYTIME"; Words and music by Evelyn D. Lohoefer, Donald McKayle, vocalist, Lee Reynolds (from Popeye TV), Charlie Byrd on the guitar, plus flute, harmonica, percussion and piano. Charming, refreshingly original—sure to give many hours of enjoyment to youngsters.

12" L.P. **$3.75**

3 for $10

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NEWSPAPER

Polish Dolls

A NEW PAIR OF PEASANT SISTERS. Our dolls are hard to resist. Charming and quaint in their native costumes, one sister is 17" high, the other 13½". Stuffed body, composition head, these dolls will add to any little girl's delight. **Both for** **$3.65**

SOME COMMENTS FROM GBS BUYERS:

"Enclosed is check for the additional **Guatemala jacket.** We are delighted with them." A new **GBS** customer says of the **Parliament records:** "I am very happy to get these wondrful records so raasonable."

The best-seller children's record **WC 302, "Come and See the Peppermint Tree"** has been bought over and over again. Mrs. P. says: "I have already given this to children who just love it. I have two more to give it to."

REMINDER: PETE SEEGER SPECIALS still available. Buy two 12", one 10" at $10. The Pete Seeger Song Book comes as a bonus. You save $4.20.

the SPECTATOR

Two exhibits in Havana

HAVANA

I MUST TELL YOU of my visits to two huge exhibitions here in the capital city of Cuba. One was in the Palace of Fine Arts; the whole building was redecorated and filled with an exposition of China's economic progress.

There were rooms draped and decked like a fairy tale with yards and yards of cloth; there were looms and lathes and drill presses and cars and trucks and silk paintings and crop samples. There were endless displays of clothing and household linens (which my landlady paid what is probably the highest possible compliment from a Cuban woman: "And the *sewing!* Chica, it's like *ours!*") The exhibit overflowed into a nearby parking lot where there were sales booths, and an array of farm machinery that was literally beautiful. The tractors and combines have a fine, oriental line. With their graceful all-metal wheels, they look as though they had just rolled out of a woodcut or a Van Gogh painting—or a Chinese factory.

And there came workers from the farms and factories of the new Cuba, to see the wonders of the new China, to talk with the technicians; to window-shop the great array of trade goods; to marvel at the exotic artistry; but to recognize, in the photographs and films of the cooperatives, the schools, the militias, a process similar to their own.

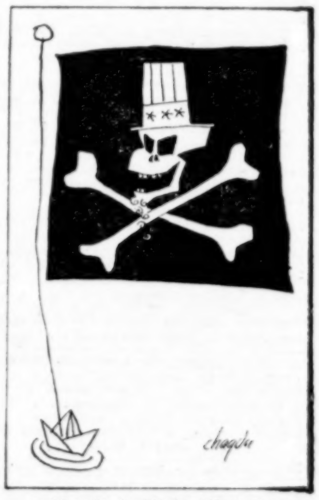
THE OTHER EXHIBITION is nothing pleasant. It is in the Marti monument, in the same exhibition space where, a few weeks before, one could see a stimulating exhibit of Cuban handicraft—furniture, jewelry, woven goods of all kinds handmade in elegant modern designs. All were fruits of the Revolutionary Government's program to develop a thriving tourist arts and crafts industry.

But that was a few weeks ago. The exhibit now in the base of the Marti monument is nothing pleasant. It is a documentation of Dr. Raul Roa's speeches in the UN, proof of Roa's and Fidel Castro's declarations that the United States government mounted an armed invasion of Cuba. The exhibit is called **Cuba denuncia.**

At the door they take away your matches or lighter. They take them away because the whole vast ground floor of the monument is one great pile of arms and ammunition supplied to counter-revolutionaries by the United States. From Springfields and Thompsons to the most modern bazookas. Case after case after case of cartridges, of grenades, of bullets.

THE MARTI MONUMENT is in the form of a star, and the exhibit space is laid out in a series of bays, each of about a 40-foot span. The walk around it, when it is packed solid with guns, when USAF parachutes are draped with macabre gaiety throughout the halls, seems very long.

When the guns are all American, and of the latest models; when there are many that are manufactured for U.S. forces and are for sale only by treaty to other governments; when there are unmarked wireless sets, and code books marked U.S.I.S.—it is a long walk around the bottom of the Marti Monument.



Chagda in Verde Olivo, Havana

When a 14-year-old school militia girl, a volunteer guard over the piles of guns, smiles and says, "You're a foreigner, aren't you? What is your nationality?"; and you answer "North American" and you go on walking through the exhibit, it is a long, sickening walk.

—Rini Templeton

* * *

RINI TEMPLETON is an artist and dance expert from Chicago who has been in Cuba since last year. She was one of a dozen North Americans in Cuba who last April signed a joint declaration against the proposal of the U.S. to evacuate North Americans from Cuba. The declaration said in part:

"We wish to state that we feel perfectly secure in Cuba. We can walk the streets by day or night in complete security, the Cubans are most hospitable and kind and are always anxious to let us see that they distinguish perfectly between the North American people and their government . . . It is our common belief that if a real danger exists for anyone who lives on this island, this danger arises solely from the government of the U.S. And if our government is sincerely concerned for our safety, we believe it should cease giving military, economic and moral support to those who have attacked Cuba and who are even now preparing new attacks. We believe that a return to a policy of friendship toward Cuba is in the best interests of the people of North America as well as Cuba . . ."

Other signers were: Ilah Warner, Barbara Collins, Martha McCurdy, Angela Moutsos, Lillian L. Clott, Jenny Rubio, Barbara Paschalides, Hal Spencer, Claudia Beck, Frank Hardy, George Lewis, Andrew Paschalides and Fausto Sanchez.

Feel free! Resorts advertising in the Guardian welcome guests of any race, creed or color!